

File: DCI

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6 May 1986

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence  
FROM: Dave Gries  
SUBJECT: Luncheon for Representative Wyche Fowler

You are scheduled to host lunch for Rep. Wyche Fowler on Wednesday, 7 May at 12:00 p.m. The purpose of the lunch is to present Fowler with the Agency Seal Medallion in honor of his prior service as a member of HPSCI. Also to be presented are the citation and photo album [ ] will give you these on your way into the lunch).

STAT

We know of no outstanding issues which Fowler may raise; however, you might remember that he was not wholly supportive of the Agency while on HPSCI. Fowler currently serves on Ways and Means. He is expected to challenge Senator Mattingly in November.

Also attending are: [ ] George, Helgersen and myself. A biography is attached.

STAT

Attachment

Georgia - 5th District

## 5 Wyche Fowler Jr. (D)

Of Atlanta — Elected 1977

**Born:** Oct. 6, 1940, Atlanta, Ga.

**Education:** Davidson College, A.B. 1962; Emory U., J.D. 1969.

**Military Career:** Army, 1963-65.

**Occupation:** Lawyer.

**Family:** Divorced; one child.

**Religion:** Presbyterian.

**Political Career:** Atlanta Board of Aldermen, 1970-74; president, Atlanta City Council, 1974-77; sought Democratic nomination for U.S. House, 1972.

**Capitol Office:** 1210 Longworth Bldg. 20515; 225-3801.



In Washington, Fowler is not a nuts and bolts legislator. He likes to think about large ideas — the future of the planet and the direction of American society. Often he does not find the direction encouraging. Fowler believes in the virtues of a simpler society, stripped of technological gadgetry and energy waste. He can work himself into a rage over an electric toothbrush.

In theory, Fowler believes, his "less is more" philosophy should be applied to government as well as technology. He calls himself "moderate in the extreme" and likes to quote Jefferson to the effect that government is best when it governs least. In practice, however, Fowler is generally a liberal Democrat; he is one of the few Southerners in the House who has consistently received a high rating from the Americans for Democratic Action.

Many of Fowler's ideas for change stretch beyond any legislative agenda. He has tried to implement some of them from his position on the Ways and Means Committee, but most of the time he seems detached from the committee's mundane work on the tax code, and he is rarely influential there. Most of his recent attention has focused on Intelligence, where he chaired a subcommittee until 1985.

Fowler tends to be critical of Reagan administration policies, especially covert actions by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). He complains that Congress has no real power to control secret CIA projects, which is why he proposed a bill to require pre-clearance by the House and Senate Intelligence committees of any covert CIA military operations.

Fowler has also denounced Reagan's "constructive engagement" approach to the apartheid government in South Africa as "a miserable failure," saying "it hasn't engaged

anybody, constructively or otherwise." However, he opposes a total, immediate "disinvestment" of American companies in South Africa, saying it would cause even worse economic hardships for the black majority.

Fowler has supported Reagan on some Intelligence issues, however. He worked on a bill, passed in late 1981, making it a crime to reveal publicly the names of U.S. spies overseas. Quoting Jefferson again, Fowler insisted that the bill should not violate the First Amendment rights of news outlets at home.

When he has taken an interest in Ways and Means, Fowler has tried to use the tax system to promote energy conservation. In 1980 he made a futile, last-minute attempt to amend an oil windfall profits tax bill with new tax credits for conservation. When President Carter tried to cut back on Amtrak service, Fowler opposed it as an energy conservation issue.

In 1981, when Ways and Means was arguing over how to respond to President Reagan's economic proposals, Fowler was one of the committee Democrats who argued that the party ought to stake out its own position on a tax bill rather than compromising with Reagan to win on the House floor. Instead, the committee added several "sweeteners" trying to make its version more palatable to Boll Weevil Democrats. Reagan's version prevailed anyway.

**At Home:** When Fowler was elected in 1977 to succeed Andrew Young, it marked the first time since 1900 that a white candidate anywhere in the country had won a House seat previously held by a black member.

Fowler, who had cultivated a reputation as a reformer in Atlanta politics, defeated black civil rights leader John Lewis in a special election called when Democrat Young stepped down to become ambassador to the United

Wyche Fowler Jr., D-Ga.

## Georgia 5

## Atlanta

The Democratic 5th combines Atlanta's glittering downtown area with its black inner city and some affluent suburban areas in northern Fulton County. Overall, blacks make up 65 percent of the population.

Capital of Georgia and symbolic capital of the New South, Atlanta is the commercial center for the Southeastern United States. Its banks and other white-collar industries attract a prosperous and sophisticated daytime population. Remaining behind at night, however, is a largely black and shrinking population. In recent years, Atlanta has had to live with a reputation for random violence and with the string of murders of black children that brought national attention in 1980 and 1981.

The 5th includes four-fifths of Atlanta and surrounding Fulton County, and Fulton casts 84 percent of the district vote. The county as a whole is reliable Democratic territory, even with the suburbs included: Mondale took it with 57 percent in 1984. Still, four years earlier Republican Sen. Mack Mattingly garnered 57 percent of Fulton County's vote against incumbent Democratic Sen. Herman E. Talmadge.

A pocket of GOP strength in Fulton County is Roswell, a town that used to be a cotton-milling center but is now a bedroom community. As white-collar, middle-level managers flocked to the Atlanta area in the 1970s, the population of Roswell mushroomed by 330 percent. The 5th also contains the western half of Sandy Springs, another white bedroom community that is a step up the social ladder from Roswell.

South of Atlanta, the district takes in East Point, a lower-middle-class community whose residents work in nearby auto plants — there is a General Motors plant in Hapeville — and other manufacturing operations. Once a relatively stable city that delivered GOP votes, East Point lost population during the 1970s as white residents left. There is some residual GOP vote in East Point, but Democrats generally have an easier time there now.

Population: 550,070. White 188,204 (34%), Black 357,303 (65%). Spanish origin 6,070 (1%). 18 and over 390,138 (71%). 65 and over 52,426 (10%). Median age: 28.

Nations in the Carter administration.

Although both candidates were viewed as liberals and neither made an appeal for racial support, the vote largely divided along racial lines. Fowler ran ahead in the first round of voting and drew a nearly unanimous white vote to win the runoff over Lewis with 62 percent.

For the next five years he had clear sailing. But by 1982, Atlanta's black leadership was growing impatient for a place in the congressional delegation.

The year before, when Georgia's Legislature had redrawn the state's congressional map, state Sen. Julian Bond and other black leaders sought to create an Atlanta-area district that would be two-thirds black or more. The Legislature did not create one, but Bond appealed to the Justice Department, which agreed that the map as drawn diluted black voting strength, thus violating the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Forced into a special session, Georgia legislators returned to redraw lines, this time increasing blacks' share of the 5th to 65 percent, only a bit below Bond's initial recommendation.

Heartened by the change, Bond announced that he would challenge Fowler for the Democratic nomination — and threatened to mount an independent candidacy if he lost the primary. But he dropped out a week later, citing fund-raising problems. Fulton County Commissioner A. Reginald Eaves said he too would stay away, and Fowler was in the clear.

Two years later, Fowler did draw significant black opposition, although the first rank of black politicians in Atlanta chose to sit the election out. Early in the year Bond, Lewis, by then a city councilman, and Fulton County Commission Chairman Michael Lomax opted out of the running. The speculation in Atlanta was that they preferred to await an expected Senate campaign by Fowler in 1986.

But veteran civil rights activist Hosea Williams and three other lesser-known candidates were not so patient. A consummate street organizer who over the years had taken on the city government and Atlanta business to fight alleged racism, Williams had a solid following among some black activists.

*Wyche Fowler Jr., D-Ga.*

At the same time, though, his confrontational tactics and a series of well-publicized arrests for reckless driving had cost Williams support among middle-class black voters. Moreover, Williams essentially ignored the white portion of the district.

At the same time, Fowler worked hard to keep voting from breaking down along racial lines. Though Williams had the endorsements of Young and Bond, neither seemed to make his campaign a priority, and Fowler's access to the black community was unhindered. "I know you're not going to judge me because of the color of my skin, but the content of my character," he told black audiences, quoting the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

On Election Day, turnout in the black community was low, and there was considerable reluctance among black voters to dump a popular incumbent simply because he was

white. Fowler ended up with 64 percent.

Fowler began his political career in the mid-1960s as an aide to Rep. Charles Weltner, a liberal Atlanta Democrat who retired from Congress after two terms in 1966 rather than run on the same ticket with gubernatorial candidate Lester Maddox.

Following Weltner's retirement, Fowler won a seat on the Atlanta City Council. He tried for Congress in 1972 but lost to Young by a margin of nearly 2-to-1 in the Democratic primary. But Fowler bounced back the following year, easily winning the City Council presidency over Hosea Williams.

While on the council, Fowler initiated Atlanta's "government in the sunshine" ordinance, which banned all closed-door and executive sessions of city government agencies. He opposed a 1977 strike by city garbage workers and applauded efforts to fire the strikers.

**Committee**

Ways and Means (13th of 23 Democrats)  
Select Revenue Measures; Social Security.

**Elections**

<b>1984 General</b>		
Wyche Fowler Jr. (D)	151,233	(100%)
<b>1984 Primary</b>		
Wyche Fowler Jr. (D)	46,139	(64%)
Hosea L. Williams (D)	22,293	(29%)
Alveda King Beal (D)	3,091	(4%)
Henrietta Mathis Canty (D)	2,150	(3%)
Robert Waymer (D)	734	(1%)

<b>1982 General</b>		
Wyche Fowler Jr. (D)	53,264	(81%)
J. E. "Billy" McKinney (I)	9,049	(14%)

Previous Winning Percentages: 1980 (74%) 1978 (76%)  
1977\* (62%)

\* Special election

**District Vote For President**

1984			1980			1978		
D	124,006	(67%)	D	111,457	(60%)	D	104,323	(68%)
R	60,150	(33%)	R	65,506	(35%)	R	50,151	(32%)
			I	6,768	(4%)			

**Campaign Finance**

	Receipts	Receipts from PACs	Expenditures
<b>1984</b>			
Fowler (D)	\$431,871	\$179,701 (42%)	\$256,573
<b>1982</b>			
Fowler (D)	\$334,360	\$139,338 (42%)	\$226,592
McKinney (I)	\$17,202	\$4,200 (24%)	\$17,701

**Voting Studies**

Year	Presidential Support		Party Unity		Conservative Coalition	
	S	O	S	O	S	O
1984	40	45	66	21	51	42
1983	27	68	83	11	35	62
1982	45	48	70	17	48	44
1981	42	45	60†	31†	55	41
1980	62	23	63	25	42	40
1979	71	22	75	19	42	51
1978	70	25	62	30	43	48
1977	73†	25†	63†	34†	51†	45†

S = Support O = Opposition

† Not eligible for all recorded votes

**Key Votes**

Raise Social Security retirement age to 67 (1983)	N
Bar covert U.S. aid to Nicaragua (1983)	Y
Reduce dairy price supports (1983)	N
Pass Equal Rights Amendment (1983)	Y
Freeze physicians' fees under Medicare (1984)	N
Bar aid to anti-Sandinista forces in Nicaragua (1984)	Y
Pass bill to revise immigration laws (1984)	Y
Cut education spending (1984)	N
Authorize procurement of 21 MX missiles (1985)	N

**Interest Group Ratings**

Year	ADA	ACA	AFL-CIO	CCU
1984	70	32	69	37
1983	90	19	88	36
1982	65	41	74	36
1981	80	36	64	37
1980	61	48	71	37
1979	68	27	65	38
1978	45	36	58	38
1977	63	43	53	39